

Message Text

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EXDIS TOSEC 220

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: A. E. SMITH SPEECH

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

FOLLOWING IS A REVISED DRAFT OF YOUR SMITH SPEECH:

YOUR EMINENCE, MR. SILVER, JUDGE MCGIVERN, DISTINGUISHED

GUESTS AND FRIENDS,

I AM, FOR SEVERAL REASONS, DEEPLY HONORED TO ADDRESS THIS

GATHERING. FIRST, BECAUSE OF THE MANY DISTINGUISHED MEN

WHO HAVE SPOKEN FROM THIS PODIUM IN YEARS PAST. SECOND,

BECAUSE I KNOW AND ADMIRE THE HUMANITARIAN WORK WHICH THIS

DINNER HELPS SUPPORT. AND THIRD, BECAUSE WE PAY TRIBUTE

TONIGHT TO ONE WHO REPRESENTED THE BEST OF AMERICA -- A

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MAN WHOSE GREAT HUMAN QUALITIES ARE AN INSPIRATION TO US

STILL.

AL SMITH'S AMERICA WAS AN OPTIMISTIC LAND -- A LAND THAT
NEVER DOUBTED ITS ABILITY TO SOLVE EVERY PROBLEM BEFORE IT,
REGARDLESS OF ITS MAGNITUDE. WE WERE A NATION CONFIDENT
OF OUR MORAL VALUES AND PURITY OF PURPOSE. WE WERE A
PEOPLE WHO FELT APART FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD'S
QUARRELS EVEN WHILE WE BELIEVED THAT OUR IDEALS WERE
RELEVANT TO ALL MANKIND.

AL SMITH EPITOMIZED THE IRREPRESSIBLE SPIRIT OF HIS
TIME AND HIS COUNTRY. HE NEVER FEARED A BATTLE -- BUT
HE NEVER LET THE BATTLE BECOME AN END IN ITSELF. HE WAS
WITHOUT ILLUSIONS, BUT EQUALLY WITHOUT RANCOR OR DESPAIR.
HIS VISION OF A BETTER AMERICA SUSTAINED HIM, BECAUSE HE
KNEW THAT GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS BEGIN AS DREAMS.

OUR AMERICA HAS, REGRETABLY PERHAPS, LOST SOME OF THAT
INNOCENCE. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT WE ARE NOT OMNIPOTENT.
NOW WE FACE THE TEST OF MATURITY: HAVING LEARNED OUR
LIMITS ARE WE PREPARED TO DO OUR BEST WITHIN THEM, OR WILL
WE, IN FRUSTRATION, RETREAT FROM THE REALITY OF WORLD

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CARDINAL COOKE, IN HIS GRACIOUS LETTER OF INVITATION,
ASKED THAT I SHARE WITH YOU MY "VISION OF A BETTER AND
MORE PEACEFUL WORLD." IT IS NOT A SIMPLE ASSIGNMENT. FOR
WHAT IS PEACE? THROUGH MOST OF OUR HISTORY WE THOUGHT OF
PEACE AS A STATIC CONDITION -- AS A WORLD LIVING IN THE
ABSENCE OF WAR; OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SETTling
ALL CONFLICTS ON THE BASIS OF LAW. SECURE BEHIND TWO

OCEANS, WE LEFT TO OTHERS THE DAY-TO-DAY DECISIONS

THAT, OVER TIME, SPELLED WAR OR PEACE, SECURITY OR FEAR.

WE LEFT TO OTHERS THE AGONY OF RECONCILING THE IDEAL WITH

THE PRACTICAL, OF ACHIEVING THE PERFECT THROUGH A SERIES

OF PRAGMATIC STEPS, EACH OF WHICH WAS BOUND TO BE IM-

PERFECT.

BUT TWO WORLD WARS AND A SERIES OF LOCAL CONFLICTS

SINCE HAVE TAUGHT US THAT PEACE IS A PROCESS, NOT A

CONDITION. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT MORALITY IS DEMONSTRATED

BY STEADFASTNESS OF PURPOSE EVEN WHILE COMPROMISING ON

TACTICS. WE NOW KNOW THAT WE ARE ON A JOURNEY THAT HAS

NO TERMINAL POINT -- A JOURNEY IN SEARCH OF PEACE AND A

BETTER LIFE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. AND WE HAVE COME TO

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REALIZE THAT IF WE ARE EVER TO HAVE TRUE PEACE THERE CAN

BE NO END TO OUR OWN EXERTIONS. FOR NO MATTER HOW MUCH

WE MIGHT WISH OTHERWISE, A WORLD WORTH LIVING IN CANNOT

SURVIVE WITHOUT US.

-- OURS IS A PLURALISTIC WORLD. IT IS A WORLD IN NEED

OF A PEACE OF ACCOMMODATION RATHER THAN DOMINATION -- THE

KIND OF WORLD WE HAVE ALWAYS SEEN AS CONSISTENT WITH OUR

NATIONAL INTERESTS AS WELL AS OUR HIGHEST HOPES.

-- IT IS A WORLD IN WHICH THE NEEDS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE

CRY OUT FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, FOR SELF-RESPECT,

DIGNITY AND JUSTICE. THESE WERE OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES

EVEN IN THE MOST ISOLATIONIST OF TIMES. THEY ARE OUR

OBJECTIVES STILL. FOOD AID AND PUBLIC HEALTH, DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION -- THESE ARE FIELDS IN WHICH INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS HAVE BEEN SUSTAINED BY OUR CONTRIBUTION. THEY NOW BECOME NOT OBJECTS OF CHARITY, BUT THE CEMENT OF GLOBAL COMMUNITY.

-- IT IS, ABOVE ALL, STILL A TUMULTUOUS WORLD; A WORLD IN NEED OF A SELF-CONFIDENT AMERICA THAT UNDERSTANDS THAT WITHOUT ITS LEADERSHIP THERE CAN BE NO STABILITY, NO PERMANENT IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN CONDITION, AND NO CONFIDENTIAL

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LASTING PEACE.

THIS IS THE WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE. THESE ARE THE REALITIES WHICH HAVE LED US TO TAKE A SERIES OF FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS. WE HAVE ENDED OUR INVOLVEMENT IN A DIVISIVE WAR; WE HAVE RESOLVED THE PERENNIAL POSTWAR CRISIS OVER BERLIN; WE HAVE BRIDGED TWO DECADES OF HOSTILITY WITH THE WORLD'S MOST POPULOUS NATION; WE HAVE TAKEN MAJOR STEPS TO DIMINISH THE DANGER OF THERMONUCLEAR WAR AND TO BUILD A MORE DURABLE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR MOST POWERFUL ADVERSARY; WE HAVE SOUGHT A MORE MATURE AND EQUAL PARTNERSHIP WITH OUR ALLIES.

WE HAVE EMERGED FROM, AND PERHAPS PUT BEHIND US, A POSTWAR PERIOD OF COLD WAR MILITARY AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION. WE HAVE EASED MANY OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH TRADITIONAL CONFLICT AMONG

NATIONS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED RULES OF RESTRAINT FOR MANY
OF THE CLASHES BETWEEN REGIMES.

BUT NOW -- INDEED PARTLY BECAUSE OF OUR SUCCESS -- WE
FACE THE BIRTHPANGS OF A NEW ORDER -- AN ORDER GLOBAL IN
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CHARACTER AND BASED ON INTERDEPENDENCE. AT THE MIDWAY
POINT BETWEEN THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE END
OF THE CENTURY, WE ARE ALSO MIDWAY BETWEEN THE NATION-
STATE FROM WHICH WE CAME AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY WHICH
WE MUST FASHION IF WE ARE EVER TO LIVE IN PEACE.

IN SHORT, WE FACE A NEW AND FUNDAMENTAL CRISIS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM:

-- INFLATION IS A GLOBAL PHENOMENON INFECTING ALL
SOCIETIES. IN ITS CURRENT SURGE IT IS BEYOND THE POWER
OF ANY SINGLE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT TO CONTROL, YET ITS
UNCHECKED ADVANCE WILL HAVE OMINOUS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
CONSEQUENCES AFFECTING THE STABILITY OF ALL GOVERNMENTS.
COORDINATED GLOBAL POLICIES ARE THE ONLY ANSWER.

-- THE ABRUPT RISE OF ENERGY COSTS, AND THE ENSUING
THREATS OF MONETARY CRISIS AND ECONOMIC STAGNATION, CAN
ONLY BE ADDRESSED BY NATIONS IN CONCERT. CONSUMERS MUST
BE PREPARED TO COOPERATE AMONGST THEMSELVES IN PURSUIT OF
SHARING AND CONSERVATION MEASURES, AND WITH PRODUCERS IN
SEARCH OF NEW AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL LONG-TERM SOLUTIONS.

-- FAMINE AND MASS STARVATION ARE AN AFFRONT TO OUR
VALUES AND AN INTOLERABLE THREAT TO OUR HOPES FOR A BETTER
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WORLD. CARDINAL COOKE'S ELOQUENT APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE DROUGHT-RIDDEN SAHEL, WHICH HE JUST VISITED, AND THE LONG-TERM INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF ACTION WHICH THE UNITED STATES HOPES TO LAUNCH AT NEXT MONTH'S WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE IN ROME, ARE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF WHAT MUST BE A COLLECTIVE EFFORT.

-- THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM THAT GREW FROM THE ASHES OF WORLD WAR II LINKED THE FATE OF NATIONS BEYOND ANY UNDOING. YET TODAY, WITH THE CRISIS OF ENERGY SCARCITY AND A RAMPANT GLOBAL INFLATION, THE FRAGILITY OF THE MONETARY AND TRADING SYSTEM THAT HAS NOURISHED OUR WELL-BEING FOR 30 YEARS PUTS OUR COMMON DESTINY IN JEOPARDY. OUR ECONOMIC THEORY AND POLICY ARE REVEALED TO BE GROTESQUELY INADEQUATE. WE FUTILLY PURSUE NATIONAL SOLUTIONS WHEN, MANIFESTLY, ONLY INTERNATIONAL SOLUTIONS WILL DO.

-- IN THE POLITICAL REALM, FESTERING LOCAL CONFLICTS -- WHETHER IN THE MIDDLE EAST OR CYPRUS -- POSE, UTLIMATELY, THE SAME THREAT TO GENERAL PEACE AS DO MORE DRAMATIC GREAT-POWER CRISES. SUCH CONFLICTS, IF NOT URGENTLY

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RESOLVED, MAY TURN INTO TESTS OF STRENGTH BETWEEN THE SUPER POWERS, WITH DANGERS FAR TRANSCENDING THE INTERESTS DIRECTLY INVOLVED.

-- AND FINALLY, AFTER 30 YEARS WITHOUT GENERAL WAR,

THE WORLD HAS BECOME TOO TOLERANT OF ACCELERATING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND THE PURPOSELESS QUALITATIVE EXPANSION OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARSENALS. NEITHER PROBLEM CAN BE RESOLVED BY PURELY NATIONAL INITIATIVES; BOTH WILL REQUIRE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND GLOBAL RESTRAINT.

THE INTERNATIONAL ISSUES CONFRONTING AMERICA TODAY ARE NOT, IN THEIR TRUE SENSE, ISSUES OF ECONOMICS, TECHNOLOGY, OR POLITICS. THEY ARE A CHALLENGE TO THE CONCEPTS WE HAVE LIVED BY FOR 200 YEARS, THEY ARE A TEST OF OUR VISION, OUR WILL, AND OUR STRENGTH OF PURPOSE. SOLUTIONS WILL NOT BE FOUND IN THEORIES OF NATIONAL AUTONOMY OR THE SANCTITY OF BLOCS. DOGMAS LEFT OVER FROM THE 19TH CENTURY DO NOT EVEN ADDRESS, LET ALONE RESOLVE, THE INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF THE LATTER QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY. THE FACT IS THAT ALL NATIONS -- EAST, WEST, AND THIRD WORLD -- ARE PART OF ONE GLOBAL SYSTEM WHICH EITHER PRESERVES THE PEACE AND ENHANCES THEIR PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING OR DOES NOT.
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THERE IS NO MIDDLE GROUND -- IF THE SYSTEM FAILS NO NATION OR BLOC IS SPARED THE PENALTY.

YOUR EMINENCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, OUR COUNTRY HAS, FOR MANY YEARS, CARRIED A DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF MAINTAINING THE PEACE, OF FEEDING THE HUNGRY AND GIVING HOPE TO THE WORLD'S DISPOSSESSED. IT HAS BEEN A HEAVY BURDEN -- ONE WE HAVE OFTEN BEEN TEMPTED TO PUT DOWN. BUT WE HAVE NOT DONE SO, NOR CAN WE DO SO NOW FOR

IT IS WE -- AND THE GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS WHO FOLLOW
AFTER -- WHO WOULD PAY THE PRICE FOR OUR WEAKNESS.
FOR MORE THAN A DECADE WE HAVE BEEN A NATION TORN BY
WAR AND CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS. WE HAVE BEEN ENERVATED
BY OUR EXERTIONS, AND AFFLICTED BY SELF-DOUBT. BUT NOW
THE WAR IS OVER AND THE CRISIS RESOLVED. IT IS TIME WE
MADE PEACE WITH OURSELVES SO THAT WE MAY GET ON WITH THE
JOB OF BUILDING A BETTER AND MORE PEACEFUL WORLD FOR ALL
NATIONS.

THE BITTERNESS THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED THE NATIONAL
DEBATE FOR MOST OF A DECADE MUST BE PUT BEHIND US. OUR
PROBLEMS ARE NATIONAL PROBLEMS; OUR SOLUTIONS MUST BE
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SOLUTIONS ACCEPTABLE TO THE NATION. ALL GOVERNMENTS,
INCLUDING OUR OWN, MUST MAKE DIFFICULT CHOICES AND
JUDGMENTS WHEN FACTS ARE NOT CLEAR, WHEN TRENDS ARE NOT
DEMONSTRABLE. WE CLAIM NO INFALLIBILITY, BUT WE DO ASK
FOR TRUST; WE DO ASK THAT DEBATE TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE
PARAMETERS OF A GENERAL RECOGNITION THAT WE ARE ALL
ENGAGED IN A COMMON ENTERPRISE. WE WELCOME DEBATE ON THE
MERITS; WE DEPLORE IT WHEN IT DEGENERATES INTO AN ATTACK
ON MOTIVES.

A YEAR AGO, YOUR SPEAKER SAID, "MY OWN GREAT HOPE IS
THAT ALL OF US MAY DO HONOR TO THE MEMORY OF ALFRED E.
SMITH BY LOVING THIS COUNTRY AS DEEPLY AS HE DID, AND BY
SERVING HER AS FAITHFULLY." THAT SPEAKER WAS GERALD FORD.

TONIGHT LET US ALL ECHO THAT SENTIMENT. LET US
DEDICATE OURSELVES TO SUMMONING AMERICA ONCE AGAIN TO
LEADERSHIP, TO HELPING THE WORLD EMERGE FROM A TIME OF
FEAR INTO A NEW ERA OF HOPE. WITH OUR OLD IDEALISM AND
OUR NEW MATURITY, WE ARE GIVEN ANOTHER HISTORIC OPPOR-
TUNITY FOR GREATNESS, FOR AMERICANS DO STILL BELIEVE THAT
PROBLEMS ARE SOLUBLE IF WE BUT TRY. WE DO STILL BELIEVE
IT IS RIGHT TO SEEK TO UNDO WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE
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WORLD, JUST AS WE CONSTANTLY STRIVE TO RIGHT WRONGS HERE
AT HOME. AND WE DO STILL SEEK THE EXCITEMENT OF NEW
FRONTIERS RATHER THAN RETREAT FROM THE UNCERTAINTY OF
THEIR CHALLENGES. WHERE ELSE IS IT POSSIBLE TO SAY:
"WE SHALL BRING PEACE; WE SHALL SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF
ENERGY; WE SHALL OVERCOME WORLD HUNGER" AND BE CRITICIZED,
NOT FOR OVERCONFIDENCE, BUT FOR FAILING TO ASK ENOUGH.
AND SO WE RETURN TO OUR STARTING POINT. OUR "VISION
OF A BETTER AND MORE PEACEFUL WORLD" BEGINS WITH A VISION
OF OURSELVES. AND THIS, TOO, REMINDS US OF THE JAUNTY
LITTLE MAN FROM THE SIDEWALKS OF NEW YORK. LET HIS
CONFIDENCE INSPIRE OUR PURPOSES. LET HIS COURAGE ANIMATE
OUR FAITH. AND LET US REMEMBER THAT IN OUR SOCIETY THE
NOBILITY OF MAN IS JUDGED NOT BY HIS BEGINNINGS BUT BY
HIS ENDS. INGERSOLL
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